5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

177 these two sacraments became pivotal, while the rest of Church life, however
797 deeply experienced, seems to be a supplementary benefit. I am speaking, be it understood, of a group of rather recent converts.

553 When I asked informants why they had joined the Church I was given one
551 invariable answer: 'to receive a new name.' The meaning of this is clear and
797 unequivocal, and follows from information already published by Williams (1930: 97, 175–7). An Orokaiva, under the traditional system, might have three types of name: (1) a 'name proper' (*javo be*) taken from a stock of names used by his father's or mother's patrilineage and conferred at birth; (2) one or more nicknames (*javo isapa*) which may be acquired at any age; (3) assumption by the slayer of the name of the slain. Williams reported that there was also a common habit of bestowing the victim's name upon the child of the slayer. The name of the slain is adopted as a distinction, and as a means of acquiring the latter's *ivo*. Baptismal names fall within this third category, for what the Orokaiva regards as obvious reasons.

First of all, baptismal names are never Orokaiva names, but are chosen from a large stock known to servants of the Church. Some are recondite names (Cephas, Stanislaus, Gemima), other are a combination of the Christian and surnames of missionaries (Dick Stafford, Nancy White). All these names, used by the mission for baptismal purposes, are reasonably regarded as names belonging to Jesus Christ. Now, Christ was slain by His enemies. After His death, those who adopted one of His names were saved and obtained great wealth and power.
[778] White men are powerful because they obtained the *ivo* of this slain Man. The mission gave Orokaiva the opportunity to acquire one of these names too, if they obeyed its rules. Thus a baptismal name fulfils the same function as was fulfilled by the adoption of the name of the slain. *Ivo* can now be obtained without the need to kill a human victim; in fact, it has now become not only useless but evil to kill people in order to assume their names. The baptismal name has taken their place.

An important parallel between the two kinds of name is that a person cannot confer either upon himself. This can be done only after a person has gone through rituals of purification by a man of great purity and renown. The eating of the body of the slain can confer *ivo* only if this communion food is a gift from some other person; similarly, bread and wine are spiritually potent only if given by a priest in a proper ritual. I have already pointed out the similarity perceived by Orokaiva between communion and the traditional rite of eating slain victims. Communion may be called the culminating ritual of the *iji eha* when Jesus Christ fully becomes the celebrant's spiritual ancestor, much in the manner of Totoima, and with similar potent effects.

797 This sketch is not at all intended as a criticism of the mission. On the
177 contrary, time probably has to pass before the Orokaiva can move from their present identification with the Church to the internalisation of its values. And it has been argued (e.g. Kelman 1962) that identification is often a necessary preliminary of change. Even the degree of change described here has been by no means easy to achieve. The ideology of the *iji eha* which underlies the present acceptance of socio-economic programmes as well as of Christianity, was long
[829] resisted by Orokaiva, even after the Second World War. A premise of this acceptance has been a growing opinion that the Western world order was indeed

CHAPTER IX: Adherence to Tradition

Section 1: Conflicts Between Two Conceptual Systems

181 177 The Orokaiva of today has to act in conformity with two conceptual systems, one attributed to the ancestors and the other imposed by the mission and, to some extent, by the government. Essentially the system followed today is that attributed to the ancestors, but changes have been very numerous. These changes have mostly been conceptualised as substitutions and additions of the old system, leaving its essentials intact. At the same time, these substitutions have been calculated to ward off criticism from mission and government, and to cope with changed conditions.

551 178 There is, for instance, a taboo on using the names of affines. When the government pressed for the amalgamation of villages, affines frequently found themselves residents of the same village, which made the name taboo very awkward. The custom now is that the taboo is greatly relaxed for Christians; the baptismal name has only a mild taboo attached to it, while the severe taboo on the Orokaiva name bestowed at birth has remained unchanged. In dealings with Europeans, who do not respect the taboo (even though affines of a person are present), only the baptismal name is used. In the village, the Orokaiva names are now heard very rarely indeed.

464 167 178 The temporary labour migration of young men (who sometimes leave wives behind in the village) continues a traditional pattern of behaviour as young men used to go out in the same circumstances to hunt heads, but it is money they now bring back before they settle down. Bridewealth gifts have remained conceptually as they were before: there must be a pig or pigs, bark cloth, ritual valuables

178 583 such as shell necklaces and feathers, cooking pots, but in addition new wealth is necessary: store clothes, "knives and forks" (i.e., kitchenware) and money. Here again, a change in detail has not changed the basic conception of the gift but rather has updated the details.

852 178 There used to be a ceremony to which a boy was subjected at or just before adolescence. This was the time when the boy formally assumed clothing. The boy used to be given his perineal band (bo) by some adult male cognate, often the man by whom the boy had been named. (Williams, 1930: 98) Nowadays, boys wear clothing much earlier in life, but the ceremony is still held as an occasion for honouring the child. It is now called a "birthday party"; as such it has the blessing of the mission while at the same time an essential part of a boy's life cycle is preserved.

25: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1974 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

602 The Orokaiva say that the *dambo* relation, although similar in many respects, is colder, more formal than the *simbo* relation. If a man dies in war, his *simbo* will die with him. The same intensity of feeling was not expressed about agnates. The feeling is the same where female *simbo* are concerned, except that "women cannot always do what men do." *Simbo* relations were especially important during the period of courting, war-like raids, and bravery in collecting war trophies.

602 572 The *simbo* relation resembles in many ways the kind of friendship described by Paine (this volume, pp. 117–37). There is a sense of worth having a *simbo* as a companion. The relationship is oriented towards what is regarded as the great things in life, principally love and war. It does not tolerate bargaining of any kind. It is not competitive exchange because *simbo* are not supposed to compete or exchange; it is not strictly cooperative either, as it does not bear the burdens of everyday obligations characteristic of the domestic unit. The taboos effectively separate *simbo* from each other [773] on this everyday plane. In the mythical texts, we find an aspect of *simbo* relations not stressed in ideology: in them, the *simbo* are forever playing nasty tricks on each other, depriving each other of benefits that are requested, and stealing each other's girls. But in such tales, virtue tends to win in the end. They form a charter, in Malinowski's sense, for the rules about *simbo* behaviour.

In the *philia* universe, *simbo* occupy a special position; namely a rejection or negation of both the cooperative and the competitive modes. The cooperative mode, taken by itself, leads to entropy; the competitive mode, taken by itself, leads to perpetual conflict. The *simbo* relation is a synthesis of the two, as is reasonable enough if one remembers it is symbolically equivalent to marriage, as analysed by Aristotle.

572 608 Fictive *simbo* bonds are sometimes created between non-kin who are engaged in an appropriate common enterprise and who desire to express their mutual warmth of feeling. Such a relationship gives friends a kind of explicit claim on each other's property and services. Because of the name [551] taboo which applies loosely in these non-kin bonds, *simbo* tend to address each other by special names known as *simbo* names.

For instance, one morning I was working on a task with a Papuan friend, when a visitor entered with a gift of eating bananas. My friend broke off a twin banana and shared it with me. "Now we are *be pije*" (banana men), he said, explaining that this was one of the *simbo* names most frequently used. If the two friends happen to find a twin areca nut, they become *be sa* (areca men); similarly one finds *be hinga* (pepper men) *be junga* (fig men) and so on. The relationship is extended to the wives of the fictive *simbo*, who become known as *ka pije*, *ka sa*, and so on. Thus, my wife became my friend's "banana girl." While such a relationship was not explicitly described as hereditary, it is easy to see how it can be transmitted from generation to generation.